

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 ISO-00 PRS-01 NSC-05

NSCE-00 /024 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:PDENNIS:SBA

APPROVED BY PA/M:FGWISNER

S/S:MR. ORTIZ

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PA, S/S, S/PRS, NSCE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 064352

TOSEC877

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

PLEASE PASS RODMAN, ADAMS, BORG FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

1. HERewith FULL TEXT STEPHEN ROSENFELD COLUMN, MARCH 21, WASHPOST, ENTITLED: "ISRAEL'S GENEVA OPTION".

2. EVERYONE EXPECTS THE MIDEAST GAME TO MOVE TO GENEVA REGARDLESS OF WHETHER HENRY KISSINGER SUCCEEDS IN PROMOTING A SECOND LIMITED AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, BUT NO ONE IS SURE IF KISSINGER AND YITZHAK RABIN, THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER, HAVE IN MIND ANYTHING MORE THAN A WATER-TREADING OPERATION WHOSE EFFECTIVENESS WILL BE MEASURED LESS BY ITS PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE THAN BY ITS POSTPONEMENT OF WAR.

3. ONE CAN MAKE A CASE THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT ANY MORE BUT IT IS A PUNKY AND UNPERSUASIVE CASE, UNSATIS-  
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FACTORY TO THE UNITED STATES BOTH IN STRATEGIC AND MORAL

TERMS, AND PARTICULARLY SO IN THE LIGHT OF AN ALTERNATIVE OUTLINED BY HARVARD HEAVYWEIGHT STANLEY HOFFMAN IN THE NEW FOREIGN AFFAIRS MAGAZINE.

4. HE RECOMMENDS WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED A DIPLOMATIC PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE: ISRAEL SHOULD DROP THE PRESENT STEP-BY-

STEP APPROACH AND THE DEFERENCE TO KISSINGER AND THE UNITED STATES EMBODIED IN IT. INSTEAD, IT SHOULD HEAD TO GENEVA, SUMMARILY STATE ITS WILLINGNESS TO RETURN THE TERRITORIES CAPTURED IN 1967, AND THEREBY PUT THE BURDEN ON ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS TO OFFER APPROPRIATE SECURITY GUARANTEES AND PROGRESS TOWARD RECOGNITION AND NORMAL RELATIONS TO MATCH.

4. BY AGREEING TO SURRENDER THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND GRANT PALESTINIANS SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, HOFFMAN ARGUES, ISRAEL WOULD GAIN THE MORAL HIGH GROUND IT NEEDS TO WIN MORE SUPPORT, AND MORE UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT, FROM THE UNITED STATES AND FROM OTHER COUNTRIES THAT HESITATE TO UNDERWRITE ISRAELI EXPANSION BUT DO CARE FOR ISRAELI SECURITY.

5. BY DEMANDING AN OVERALL PEACE SETTLEMENT, TO BE NEGOTIATED AT GENEVA WITH ITS NEIGHBORS (WITH THE HELP OF MANY OUTSIDE POWERS) ISRAEL ACHIEVES GREATER COMMAND OVER ITS OWN DESTINY, ENHANCES PROSPECTS THAT ITS NEIGHBORS WILL DEAL WITH IT DIRECTLY RATHER THAN THROUGH WASHINGTON, AND GRANTS MOSCOW THE MIDEAST PARTICIPANT'S ROLE IT CANNOT BE DENIED ANYWAY.

6. BY STRIKING FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT, MOREOVER, ISRAEL AVOIDS THE CRIPPLING CONTRADICTION INHERENT IN STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY. THE ISRAELI TRUMP IS TERRITORY, THE ARAB TRUMP RECOGNITION. BUT THE ARABS WILL WITHHOLD RECOGNITION UNTIL THE FINAL STEP, AND MOST OF THE POSITIVE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS ISRAEL DEMANDS IN EXCHANGE FOR PARTIAL WITHDRAWALS ARE CONCEIVABLE ONLY IN A CONTEXT OF RECOGNITION. "IS TRADING TERRITORY FOR FORMULAS THE BEST USE OF TIME?" ASKS HOFFMAN. "DOES NOT THE LENGTH

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OF THE PROCESS PROVIDE ISRAEL'S ADVERSARIES WITH OPPORTUNITIES FOR TIGHTENING THE NOOSE...?"

7. WOULD ISRAEL BUY THIS PLAN? THE ISRAELI PUBLIC, THE PROFESSOR SUGGESTS, WOULD FOLLOW A STRONG LEADER WHO FITTED CONCESSIONS INTO A PACKAGE TO ISRAELI ADVANTAGE. OTHERWISE, NEW LEADERSHIP COULD BE DRAWN FROM THE SEVERAL MAJOR (NON-LIKUD) FIGURES WITH RESERVATIONS ABOUT

THE RABIN-KISSINGER APPROACH.

8. HOFFMAN CONCEDES THAT THE POLICY HE FAVORS MIGHT FAIL. HE ANSWERS THAT THE AWARENESS THAT FAILURE COULD MEAN DISASTER WOULD BE BRACING, AND ANYWAY, THE INITIATIVE IS WORTH ISRAEL'S TAKING IN ORDER TO RESTORE ITS DIPLOMATIC POSITION, TO EASE ITS SELF-DOUBTS ON THE

PALESTINIAN ISSUE, AND TO GIVE IT A NECESSARY LIFTING DREAM FOR ITS FUTURE.

9. NOW, WE ALL KNOW THAT ANY LARGE MIDEAST IDEA CAN BE PICKED APART PRACTICALLY AT WILL: WE ALL KNOW HOW TO SAY NO IN HEBREW, ARABIC, ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN. BUT THERE IS AN EVIDENT NEED FOR AN OVERALL CONCEPTION WHICH TAKES INTO SERIOUS ACCOUNT THE MAJOR NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS AT PLAY AND WHICH OFFERS FEASIBLE GUIDELINES ON HOW TO GET FROM HERE TO THERE. IT SEEMS TO ME HOFFMAN HAS FILLED THE BILL.

10. A TRANSITION FROM A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH SPONSORED BY KISSINGER TO A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OFFERED BY ISRAEL NEED NOT, MOREOVER, EITHER DETRACT FROM KISSINGER'S EFFORTS AT DISENGAGEMENT SO FAR OR CUT ACROSS WHAT HE MAY HAVE IN MIND FOR THE FUTURE. SOME KIND OF AMERICAN-ISRAELI STRATEGY WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED UP FOR GENEVA IN ANY EVENT. HOFFMAN'S HAS WEIGHT. IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF KISSINGER AND RABIN, PERHAPS EVEN TOGETHER, HAD NOT ALREADY STUDIED SOMETHING VERY MUCH LIKE IT.

11. WHAT I FIND MOST VALUABLE IN HOFFMAN'S APPROACH IS THE RESPECT IT SHOWS FOR THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN ISRAEL, AND FOR THE CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN TEMPER.  
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IT IS THE AMERICAN INTEREST TO HELP ENSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, ENHANCING ISRAEL'S INCENTIVE TO FASHION ITS OWN REGIONAL PEACE. THIS WOULD BE DONE BY AN AMERICAN RETREAT FROM DIPLOMATIC CENTER STAGE AT GENEVA, BY STEADY MILITARY SUPPLY AND POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT PROCESS, AND BY OFFERS OF GUARANTEES AFTER SETTLEMENT. (KISSINGER HAS ALREADY STIPULATED THE LATTER POINT.)

12. THE AMERICAN TEMPER ON ISRAEL IS, PLAINLY, COMING TO BE MORE DISCRIMINATING AND RESERVED, IN THE CONGRESS AS WELL AS IN THE BUREAUCRACY. ALMOST EVERYBODY GRANTS THIS. HOFFMAN'S CONCEPTION PROMISES ISRAEL THE MORE RELIABLE BASE OF LONG-TERM AMERICAN SUPPORT WHICH ISRAEL NEEDS TO HAVE FOR ITS SECURITY AND WELFARE AND WHICH THE UNITED

STATES NEEDS TO PROVIDE FOR ITS OWN MORAL SELF-REGARD.

(END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 21 MAR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** PDENNIS:SBA  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750099-1078  
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**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750326/aaaaaxnz.tel  
**Line Count:** 171  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN PA  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** woolflhd  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 23 SEP 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <23 SEP 2003 by greeneet>; APPROVED <30 DEC 2003 by woolflhd>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRESS MATERIAL PLEASE PASS RODMAN, ADAMS, BORG FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER  
**TAGS:** OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** JERUSALEM  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006